787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topĩ). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Panterí vanquished the topĩ), but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not defeated the topĩ, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow). I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
[821] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topĩ and many souls of shamans near
[775] [756] him. I did not talk but returned fast.' He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungitána, and people marveled
781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a panché-iũnwera. Urukumũ picked up the ankungitána. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him."

825 I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized
[292] most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of
[23] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (ibid., Note 30) says in this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the
[821] Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
●[753] me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

292 The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
285 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated
114 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. ibid., Fig. 1). The figures in Wagley's work (ibid., Figs. 1-9) do not provide any details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampiitáua

otter (No. 22), the [120:54] spider monkey (No. 38), the vultures (Nos. 54-56), the hawk (No. 58), the small lizard (No. 87), Mabuia agilis (No. 88), the teju (No. 89), the papavento (No. 91), the truira-peva (No. 92), the snakes (Nos. 93-98), the toad (No. 101), the mollusks (Nos. 140-142), the arachnoids (Nos. 146-148) (except for the ticks removed from the human body), the myriapods (Nos. 149-151), and the insects (Nos. 152-186) (except for those caught in flagrante sucking human blood and for certain larvae and honey). Most of the animals that are not eaten by the Tapirapé are known to the Karajá, Cherente, and Kaingang and are not eaten by these three tribes either, except for the bat which is eaten by "some men" among the Cherente, the spider monkey which is eaten by Karajá men, and the teju which is eaten by "some men" among the Cherente and by a few present-day Kaingang.

13. Just as I was told that it would not harm a Tapirapé woman to eat of the animals whose flesh is usually eaten only by the men (cf. item 10 above), I also heard that those animals not eaten by any Tapirapé would not harm anyone who should happen to eat them. There are, however, certain animals eaten exclusively by the men, namely, the tapir (No. 27), the marsh deer (No. 30), the rhea (No. 41), and the alligator (No. 81), which, if eaten by the father of a small child, would cause the latter to fall ill and die. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the subsequent paragraph, No. 14, are omitted.]

Concerning animal foods, the following observations are also in order.

The Tapirapé do not consume the raw blood of animals, for they regard it as bad.

In spite of the distance between Tampiitaua and the river, and in spite of the fact that the life of the Tapirapé as forest dwellers and farmers does not allow fish to play as important a role in their diet as in that of the Karajá water-dwellers, this animal is of greater importance to the Tapirapé than any other. From early childhood, they are constantly looking for small fish in the stream near the village. They dream that there is abundant fish at certain spots, and

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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One powerful shaman may have several demonic familiars and his responsibility and prestige grow with their numbers and strength. Panteri, perhaps the most powerful shaman living in 1940, had several breeds of familiars garnered from his dreams. He was, of course, accustomed to visiting the villages of ghosts and frequently saw and talked with ghosts in his nightly dreams. He had visited the *anapi ancünga*, beings with huge penises with which they kill people by sodomy and by copulation. Panteri travelled once in his dreams over a high mountain ridge to the north of the Tapirapé country where he visited with the ghosts of the hostile Gê-speaking Kayapo. These enemy ghosts too became his familiars and he says that they will warn him if and when the living Kayapo plan to attack the Taparipé. Again, in one of his dreams, Panteri travelled two days through a thick forest through which no paths led. Suddenly he found himself at the mouth of the Tapirapé River where it runs into the Araguaya. Inside a near-by hill he visited *anacówa*, the large red parrot from which supernatural beings and the souls of dead shamans pluck their everlasting supply of red feathers for decoration (9).

Panteri also visited the forest demons called *peropi awa*, who have the power to send fevers to the Tapirapé. About this visit to their "house" he related the following: "I saw many pets. They have periquitos, parrots, many pets... I had not seen them before. I saw there a paca. The paca was cold; it was shivering. The paca had fever [chills]. I knew that the Tapirapé would all have fever. I told many people that this would occur but there was nothing I could do about it". During his many dream travels Panteri has also visited Maratawa, the home of heroic ancestors and deseased shamans and he has looked down upon many Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya River.

There are certain of the shamans who are said to make frequent trips to the sky in their "canoes" and to count powerful celestial phenomena among their powers. The Milky Way was spoken of as the "Road of the *Pancé*". Once when comparing his powers with those of another shaman, a shaman told me that he dreamed only on earth level and so was not so powerful as the other who frequenty travelled in the sky. The other, he said, "had visited é éco, the Pleiades, and *kopia xawana*,

(9) Ancestor heroes. Thunder as a supernatural, and souls of dead shamans are always described as having a plentiful supply of red feathers — something that a living Tapirapé envies.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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754 the head or to tie it up and carry it off. The one whose soul is thus
787 either incapacitated or imprisoned soon dies. A shaman may call upon
756 his familiar demonic spirits of the forest to deal with a chosen victim or may in his dreams shoot a victim's spirit with small arrows causing at times death and at times only boils. Still another method of attack is for the shaman to throw a fishbone (*ipirã kunya*) or gnawing worms (*uuáka* or *áwai*) into his victim's body causing illness and death.
[755] The treatment of illness consists of removing from the victim's body these malignant arrows, fishbones, and worms that are the cause of illness.

754 In illness and other misfortune, sorcery is always suspected by
756 the Tapirapé and some shaman is accordingly always believed responsible. Sorcery, however, is believed to be the action of shamans in dreams, and although such a negative statement can obviously not be substantiated, it seems never to be consciously practised. But there
[784] is, so far as the writer knows, no use of incantations or mechanical devices for the deliberate inducing of sympathetic magic.

683 All Tapirapé are thought, however, to die by sorcery and at each
761 death suspicion turns toward a shaman (12). At the death of a child
756 or woman of low status, suspicion may arise and then soon die down
[554] but when the deceased is a man of status, his brothers, sons, or sisters' sons become violent in their grief and may murder the shaman toward whom suspicion points. Sometimes, after a long series of deaths, suspicion is fixed upon one famous and strong shaman and the Tapirapé decide informally that he must be killed. In such cases the revenge-murder occurs within the first few days after a death when the relatives are "sad" (13). If the first depression of mourning wears off without violence to the shaman, the anger toward him passes and he is out of danger. Thus, after a man of rather high status had died both Urukumu and Wantanamu, *pancés* of sufficient power to be suspected of causing his death, both left the village, ostensibly on fishing trips, staying away until the brothers of the deceased had calmed down again.

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[753] (12) Informants readily admitted that people may be infected by others, as in the case of the common cold, which they recognize as a disease from whites but it is believed that a person who has a cold slowly gets well if no sorcery is working against him. Death is caused only by sorcery.

[192 152] (13) A Tapirapé uses the word "*iwutérahu*" to describe the condition of anger and sadness.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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when an
individual discovers a new patch of tobacco, he hastily builds a low fence around it to inform others that it belongs to him. This native tabacco is smoked by laymen in short tubular pipes made of wood or clay and by shamans in long clay pipes, sometimes 30 centimeters long.

Tobacco is used for leisure-time smoking for pleasure: but its principal uses among the Tapirapé are as a stimulant and as a medicine. Each night after a long day's work or while traveling or hunting, Tapirapé men blow smoke over their tired legs, arms, and backs and sometimes men can be seen fumigating their tired wives or companions. They accompany the fumigation of their bodies with massage, rubbing their arms and legs toward the extremities. Tiredness and soreness are considered extraneous substances acquired during the day through exercise and it is believed they may be massaged and fumigated from the body.

Treatment of the sick is the shaman's most common duty and the use of tobacco is always a necessary prelude and accompaniment to this. Unless the illness is serious enough to warrant immediate treatment, shamans always cure in the late evening. A shaman comes to his patient, and squats near the patient's hammock, his first act is always to light his pipe. When the patient has a fever or has fallen unconscious from the sight of a ghost, the principal method of treatment is by massage. The shaman blows smoke over the entire body of the patient: then he blows smoke over his own hands, spits into them, and massages the patient slowly and firmly, always toward the extremities of the body. He shows that he is removing a foreign substance by a quick movement of his hands as he reaches the end of an arm or leg.

The more frequent method of curing, however, is by the extraction of a malignant object (18) by sucking. The shaman squats alongside the hammock of his patient and begins to "eat smoke" — swallow large gulps of tobacco smoke from his pipe. He forces the smoke with great intakes of breath deep down into his stomach; soon he becomes intoxicated and nauseated; he vomits violently and smoke spews from his stomach. He groans and clears his throat in the manner of a person gagging with nausea but unable to vomit. By sucking back what he vomits he accumulates saliva in his mouth (19).

(18) Fishbones, worms, arrows which are injected into body by sorcery.

(19) It hardly need be said that *pancé* do not eat before curing in this manner, but prefer to cure with an empty stomach.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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ceremonial rattles which had fallen to the ground and running with them around the whole circuit of the village.

The third and fourth days of the ceremony followed closely the pattern of this day, but there were some important variations. On the last two days a new danger was added, accounting for more violent seizures that occurred then. During these days each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate headdress — the *ankungitana*. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer (30). Without exception all who wore the headdress, even Panteri and Urukumu, fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder and genuine fear was shown by all those who wore it.

Before a man could put the headdress on his head, a shaman waved it slowly before his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific "heat." When Urukumu wore the *ankungitana*, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circle of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panteri. Panteri likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song and when he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Panteri related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: "I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (*a topi*). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus he would have vanquished the *topi*) but it left the house. Then all was dark. (He had not defeated the *topi* and it had consequently shot him with his arrow) I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days and I climbed a large mountain on the

(30) Red parrot feathers are "hot like fire", say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tori* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related